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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a description of the kinds of prosocial behavior that 2- and 5-year-old children naturally exhibit. Caretakers were asked for their observations of children's prosocial behavior in natural settings. Specifically, 40 parents and teachers who had daily interactions with 2-year-olds were asked to name the most prosocial 2-year-old they knew and give a detailed written description of those behaviors of the child which had caused them to make the nomination. The same procedure was undertaken with 37 caretakers of 5-year-olds. Lists of 20 attributes of prototypically prosocial 2-year-olds and 24 attributes of 5-year-olds were generated. Findings revealed considerable variability in the attributes mentioned by the caretakers. Similarities between the two age groups were more pronounced than differences. Range of behavior was similar at both ages. Core attributes were quite similar for each age, but developmental differences appeared in less central attributes. Although the same attribute may describe children at different ages, the specific behaviors through which that attribute is manifested may differ at each age. Cluster analysis suggested that there are six major clusters in adults' conceptions of 2-year-olds' prosocial behavior and five in their conceptions of 5-year-olds'. (RH)

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What It Means to Be Prosocial: Caretakers' Descriptions
of Prosocial 2- and 5-Year-Olds

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Introduction

The concept "prosocial" is a theme that organizes much research on children's positive social development. Yet the concept is not well defined; studies of young children's prosocial development have continued without a foundation of research investigating what it means to be prosocial at different ages. There is general agreement among researchers that prosocial behavior involves a concern for others' welfare, but how this translates into measurable behavior in children of varying ages remains unresolved. Thus, sophistication in the operationalization of prosocial behavior has not kept pace with the accumulation of literature in the field.

Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg (1977) expressed concern over a decade ago about the way prosocial behavior was assessed. Because there is no data base of descriptive information indicating which prosocial behaviors are manifest by individuals at different ages, we do not know how valid or useful much of the research on prosocial behavior is. Have researchers been assessing behaviors that are central to being prosocial at each age under investigation? Mussen (1977) reiterated the concern in a presidential address to Division 7 of the American Psychological Association, and Radke-Yarrow, Zahn-Waxler & Chapman (1983) more recently stated that

The domains of action (sharing, helping, etc.) and the specific indices of prosocial behavior (dividing candies, picking up papers, providing comfort) have been chosen quite arbitrarily without sufficient conceptual grounding. (p. 478)

This arbitrariness has likely resulted in some operationalizations of

prosocial behavior that are inappropriate for the age of subjects involved, thus making the associated research of questionable utility.

In essence, prosocial behavior has been defined by the operationalization of the construct within specific studies. A common outcome measure of prosocial behavior in studying children has been the donation of prize winnings to anonymous charity. It is important to know whether this is a prosocial act for young children whose social experience and understanding is limited. Does such donation really represent a behavior oriented toward the good of the beneficiary? Is there sufficient validity in such assessments to give us greater understanding of prosocial development in the real world behavior of individuals?

Researchers continue to generate studies without seriously discussing the developmental appropriateness of their assessment because there is not sufficient data to support such a discussion. The only researchers who attempt to catalogue the specific prosocial behaviors of children under three are Hay & Rheingold (1983). It is time for more empirical and theoretical information regarding what might be the important characteristics of a prosocial person at different ages. Without such information, we can not determine whether different modes of prosocial behavior (e.g., sharing vs. helping another in distress) are distinct and develop differently, or how they interrelate.

Radke-Yarrow, Zahn-Waxler & Chapman (1983) have stated that:

"The overwhelming concentration in the research literature [on prosocial development] has been on processes of acquisition. This has left far behind our knowledge of what it is that is acquired. With so little information about the nature and variety of the prosocial behaviors in children's repertoires, we are in a relatively disadvantageous position in investigating underlying

developmental processes. Processes of what? Choices of prosocial indices seem to have been somewhat arbitrary with little consideration given to the bases of these choices. This practice had seriously weakened the knowledge base in this area of research and is particularly troublesome in studying development. Are sharing candy, helping in card sorting, cooperating on a game in the laboratory, and picking up an experimenter's dropped papers good indices; are they equally appropriate or meaningful at successive ages? Are they samples of significant interpersonal behaviors? It would seem that research on processes would be much enriched by an expanded knowledge of the substance of children's prosocial interactions." (pp. 488-489, emphasis added)

Two approaches one could use to establish a list of features that define the substance of prosocial behavior in very young children are (1) theory, and (2) observations of actual behavior in natural contexts. The latter approach is taken in this study. One way to provide an observational data base is to use a prototype study.

THE STUDY

Objective

The purpose of this study is to provide a description of the kinds of prosocial behaviors that 2- and 5-year-olds naturally exhibit.

Prototype studies have been used successfully to explore complex psychological constructs. For example, Ford & Miura (1983) investigated social competence; Horowitz, French, & Anderson (1981) investigated loneliness; and Sternberg, Conway, Ketron, & Bernstein (1981) investigated intelligence. Although the methodology for each study varied, each involved asking people to define what the construct meant to them by nominating people they knew who were prototypical in the construct and giving reasons for nominating that person.

The idea behind a prototype study is to accumulate a collection of defining features that describes members of a class, such as lonely people or socially competent people. These defining features characterize some members of the class, but no member has all features.

Thus, no single feature is either necessary or sufficient. Features can vary in importance. Some are more common, and some are more variable. The composite of features defines the theoretical ideal, or prototype. Thus, the construct "prosocial" needn't be viewed as a trait, but rather can be viewed as a collection of behavioral features. Individuals are then evaluated against this collection of features; the more features the individual has, the closer to the prototype he/she is. A prototype study can yield two kinds of information: (1) the most common prosocial behaviors, and (2) the range of prosocial behaviors of typical children.

In this study caretakers were asked for their observations of children's prosocial behavior in natural settings based on their daily experience with the children. This approach taps people's implicit theory about prosocial children. The layperson's view is important because it tells us what characteristics are used to judge children in their natural environment. Laypersons' psychological theories can be "wrong" in that they can use irrelevant criteria, but so can experts'. Thus, this study is only one step in the direction of understanding what it means to be prosocial in early childhood.

The advantage of investigating prosocial behavior by using caretaker's observations is that it is cheaper and faster, and perhaps more accurate, to elicit the observations of people who have constant contact with young children rather than to engage researchers as observers. This is because individual prosocial behaviors have a low frequency of occurrence; in another study (Bergin, 1987), our research assistants spent 6 hours observing the prosocial behavior of toddlers in both a peer group and the family, and were left with many "blank"

categories. Grusec (1982) confirmed our experience. In her study, based on mothers' reports, the mean number of altruistic acts per day by 4-year-olds was .68 for boys and .62 for girls; for 7-year-olds it was .41 for boys and .43 for girls. Thus, an observer would have to spend huge amounts of time in the child's natural environment in order to observe significant numbers of prosocial behaviors.

In addition, information obtained from caretakers may be more accurate because the effect of researchers is strong for very young children, who are disturbed or excited by the presence of non-familiar adults. Young children frequently respond differently to familiar vs. non-familiar adults (e.g., Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1982). It is likely that both qualitative and quantitative differences in prosocial behavior occur in the presence of strangers, and it is impossible not to be intrusive to some extent when observing young children in natural settings, particularly in their home.

The current study investigates prosocial behavior in 2- and 5-year-olds. Multiple ages were chosen to test the hypothesis that behaviors characteristic of prosocial individuals may be different at different ages. Two-year-olds were selected because Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow's (1982) findings suggest this may be an age during which stable individual patterns of behavior are formed and children's prosocial orientation becomes differentiated. It is a relatively unresearched age; less research attention has been given to toddlers compared to older children. Five-year-olds were chosen because they are more socially active than 2-year-olds, but are still young enough to represent the earliest years of prosocial development. We hypothesized that the same degree of prosocial orientation in 2-year-olds would be represented by a different behavioral repertoire in 5-

year-olds.

Method

Forty parents and teachers who have daily interaction with 2-year-olds were asked to nominate the most prosocial 2-year-old that they know. They were asked to give a detailed, written description of which behaviors led them to make the nomination. The same procedure was repeated for 37 caretakers of 5-year-olds.

All but two caretakers were female. They were primarily white and middle class. Caretakers were free to nominate any child without regard to sex. Caretakers of 2-year-olds nominated boys and girls equally often -- 20 of each sex. Caretakers of 5-year-olds nominated 14 boys and 23 girls.

The nomination forms used in this study asked caretakers to nominate children who are "good at making other people feel good." The intent behind this wording was to emphasize children who are behaviorally effective. In contrast with a statement asking for nomination of children who simply "care about others," the focus here is on consequences, rather than cognitions, antecedents, or psychological processes. We felt that behavioral manifestations would be more useful for future research because assessment in young children is based on observable behavior. We also felt that this wording was the best way to promote understanding of "prosocial," an unfamiliar word to most, without leading the respondents.

Each description was typed and then given to two judges who independently tabulated the prosocial attributes that the caretakers mentioned. (Two different judges were used for each age group, for a total of four). Attributes identified by both judges were written on

cards using the literal phrases generated by the caretakers. These phrases were then categorized by two judges based on similarity of meaning. A final list of 20 attributes of prototypically prosocial 2-year-olds was identified by consensus. Similarly, a list of 24 attributes of prototypically prosocial 5-year-olds was generated. (Tables A and B in the appendix give a brief description of each attribute.)

Results

The frequency of mention of each attribute was tabulated. Attributes supplied by 19% or more of the caretakers were retained. Thus, we have a final list of 10 and 13 attributes characteristic of prototypically prosocial 2-year-olds and 5-year-olds, respectively. These attributes are given in order of frequency of mention in Tables 1 and 2.

A list of the 10 core attributes of prosocial 2-year-olds was given to 30 undergraduate students who were asked to sort the attributes into clusters based on their opinion of which attributes seemed to go together or best represent the interrelationships among the attributes. Another 28 students clustered the 13 attributes of 5-year-olds. We then computed a matrix showing how often each attribute was clustered with every other attribute. The matrix was subjected to a hierarchical clustering procedure. Euclidean distance was used as the measure of similarity. Both Wards and Average Linkage procedures were used (Milligan & Cooper, 1987); results from each verified the other.

The cluster analysis results suggest there are six and five major clusters in people's conceptions of prosocial 2- and 5-year-olds,

Table 1
Attributes of Prosocial 2-Year-Olds
In Order of Frequency of Mention

	Number of Caretakers Including the Attribute
1. COMFORTS OTHERS	22 (55%)
2. AFFECTIONATE	22 (55%)
3. SHARES	19 (48%)
4. HAPPY	18 (45%)
5. FRIENDLY & OUTGOING	17 (43%)
6. SOCIABLE	15 (38%)
7. SENSITIVE AND PERCEPTIVE OF OTHERS	9 (23%)
8. CARETAKING OF YOUNGER CHILDREN	9 (23%)
9. HELPFUL	9 (23%)
10. COOPERATIVE	8 (20%)
---- 19% cut off ----	
11. EMPATHIC	6 (15%)
12. EASY GOING	6 (15%)
13. VERBAL	6 (15%)
14. NOT AGGRESSIVE	6 (15%)
15. AMIABLE IN PLAY	5 (13%)
16. OBEDIENT	5 (13%)
17. STRONG WILLED & INDEPENDENT	5 (13%)
18. WANTS OTHERS TO BE HAPPY	4 (10%)
19. APOLOGIZES	4 (10%)
20. AWARE OF OTHERS	4 (10%)

Note. Total number of caretakers is 40. Attributes mentioned by fewer than three caretakers were not compiled (none were mentioned by three).

Table 2

Attributes of Prosocial 5-Year-Olds
In Order of Frequency of Mention

	Number of Caretakers Including the Attribute
1. HELPFUL	16 (43%)
2. FRIENDLY AND OUTGOING	14 (38%)
3. COMFORTING TO OTHERS	14 (38%)
4. AFFECTIONATE	14 (38%)
5. COOPERATIVE	13 (35%)
6. SHARES	12 (32%)
7. HAPPY	12 (32%)
8. SENSITIVE	12 (32%)
9. CARETAKING OF YOUNGER CHILDREN	10 (27%)
10. SOCIABLE	8 (22%)
11. SELF-CONFIDENT	8 (22%)
12. COMPLIMENTS OTHERS	7 (19%)
13. NOT EXCLUSIVE IN FRIENDSHIPS	7 (19%)
---- 19% cut off ----	
14. ATTENTIVE	6 (16%)
15. GIVES GIFTS TO OTHERS	5 (14%)
16. STUBBORN	5 (14%)
17. NOT AGGRESSIVE	5 (14%)
18. "GIVES IN" TO AVOID FIGHTS	4 (11%)
19. SETTLES DISAGREEMENTS AMONG PLAYMATES	4 (11%)
20. ACTIVE AND ENERGETIC	4 (11%)
21. POLITE	4 (11%)
22. AVOIDS HURTING OTHERS' FEELINGS	3 (8%)
23. SENSE OF FAIRNESS	3 (8%)
24. LEADER, BUT WITHOUT FORCE	3 (8%)

Note. Total number of caretakers is 37. Attributes mentioned by fewer than three caretakers were not compiled.

respectively.¹ Tables 3 and 4 display the clusters and their component attributes. Figures 1 and 2 are graphic representations of the clusters.

Discussion

The frequency of mention of the single most common feature for 2-year-olds is 22 (or 55%) and for 5-year-olds 16 (or 43%). Clearly, no feature is mentioned by all respondents. In fact, all but two features appear in less than half the descriptions. Thus, there was considerable variability in the attributes mentioned by the caretakers. This is not surprising for so complex a construct.

The similarities between the two age groups are more pronounced than the differences. All the attributes mentioned by more than 19% of the caretakers describing prosocial 2-year-olds are also mentioned by more than 19% of caretakers describing prosocial 5-year-olds. This similarity is striking considering the difference in social development and social experience between these two ages.

The range of behaviors is also similar at both ages. The only difference is that 5-year-olds were described with more attributes than 2-year-olds. Specifically, three attributes are used to describe 5-year-olds, but not 2-year-olds: (1) has self-confidence, (2) compliments others, and (3) is not exclusive in friendships. None of these three attributes was mentioned even once in describing 2-year-olds. They reflect developing social skills more central to 5's than 2's. The third attribute is particularly relevant to 5-year-olds, for whom drawing and redrawing the boundaries of "best friends" is a common pasttime.

If one were to include in the analysis attributes mentioned by

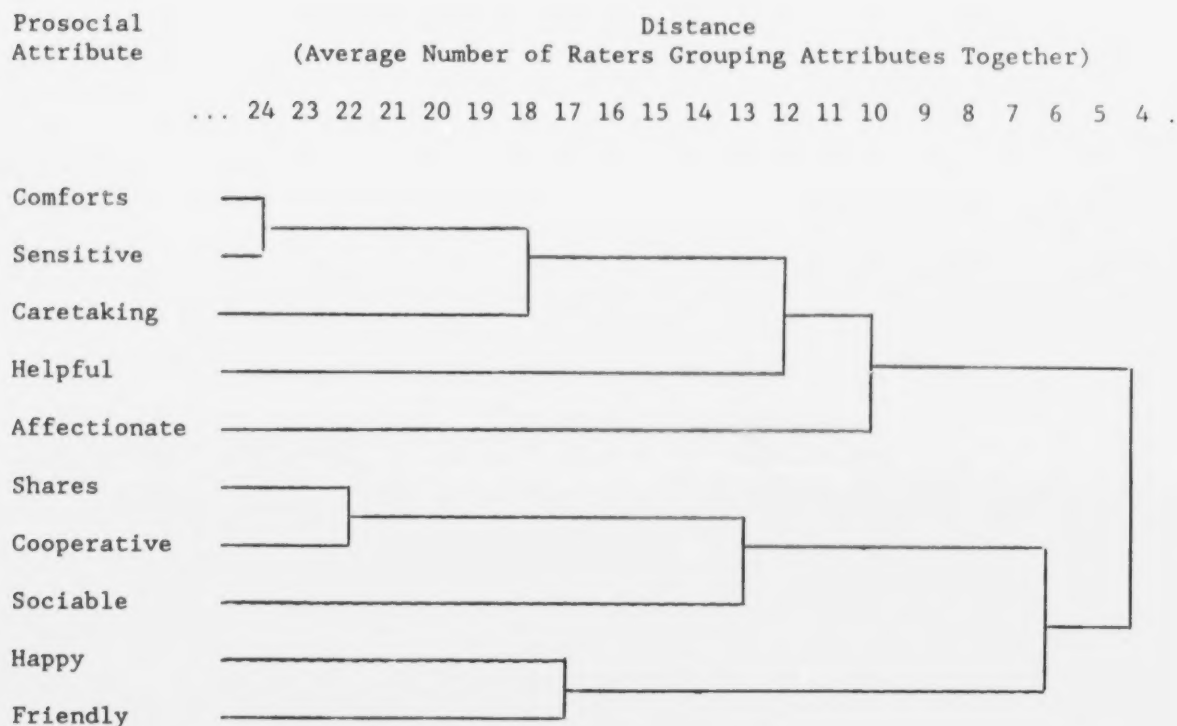
Table 3
The Prototype of the Prosocial 2-Year-Old
by Clusters

	Frequency of Mention
Cluster I: Concerned for Others	
a. Comforts Others	22
b. Sensitive and Perceptive of Others	9
c. Caretaking of Younger Children	9
Cluster II: Helpful	
a. Helpful	9
Cluster III: Affectionate	
a. Affectionate	22
Cluster IV: Polite	
a. Shares	19
b. Cooperative	8
Cluster V: Sociable	
a. Sociable	15
Cluster VI: Good Natured	
a. Happy	18
b. Friendly & Outgoing	17

Note. Cluster titles were coined by the undergraduate students who generated the clusters.

Figure 1

Ward's Dendrogram for Distances
Between Clusters of Prosocial Attributes of 2-Year-Olds



Note. Longest horizontal bars denote most weakly related clusters.
Includes only behaviors meeting 19% cut off. N of raters = 30.

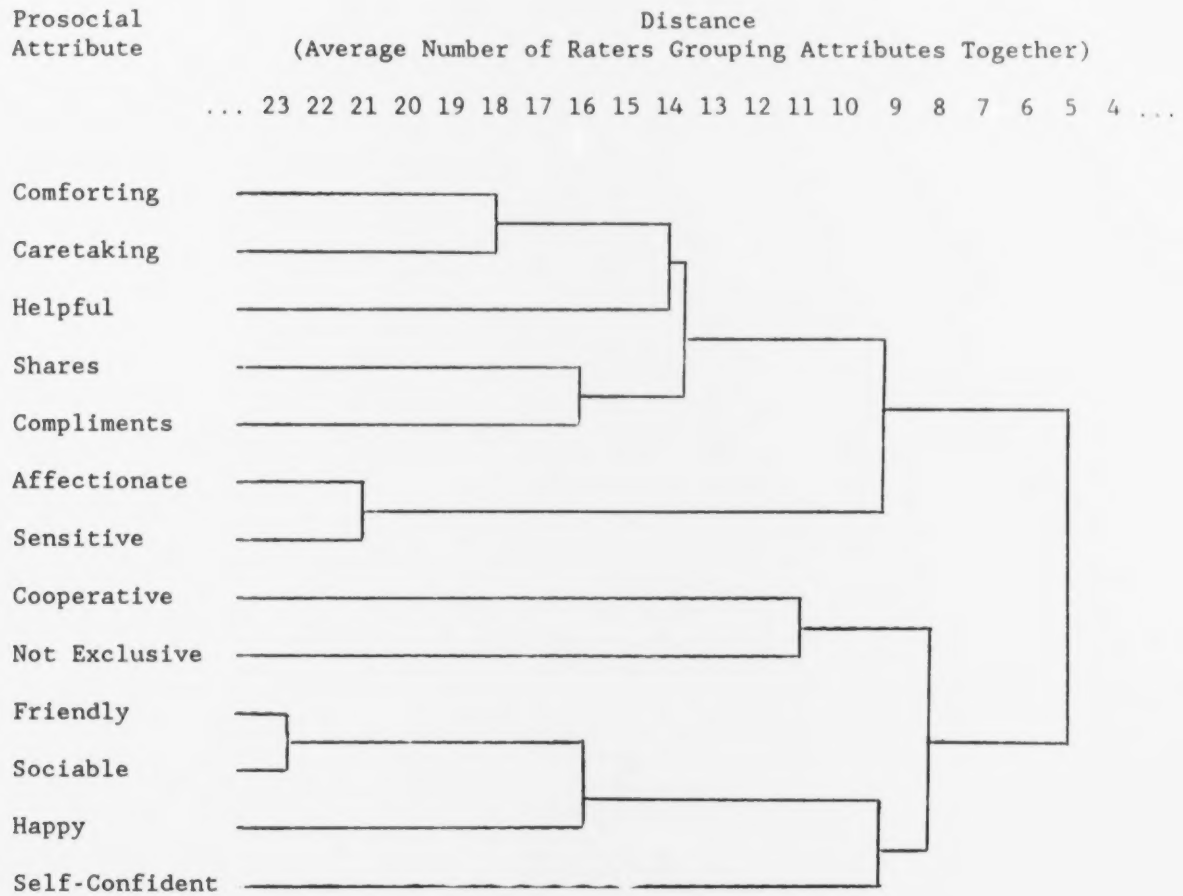
Table 4
The Prototype of the Prosocial 5-Year-Old
by Clusters

	Frequency of Mention
Cluster I: Giving	
a. Comforts Others	14
b. Caretaking of Younger Children	10
c. Helpful	16
d. Shares	12
e. Compliments Others	7
Cluster II: Emotionally Responsive	
a. Affectionate	14
b. Sensitive	12
Cluster III: Good Playmate	
a. Cooperative	13
b. Not Exclusive in Friendships	7
Cluster IV: Positive in Social Interaction	
a. Friendly & Outgoing	14
b. Sociable	8
c. Happy	12
Cluster V: Self-confident	
a. Self-confident	8

Note. Cluster titles were coined by the undergraduate students who generated the clusters.

Figure 2

Ward's Dendrogram for Distances
Between Clusters of Prosocial Attributes of 5-Year-Olds



Note. Longest horizontal bars denote most weakly related clusters.
Includes only behaviors meeting 19% cut off. N of raters = 28.

more than 8% but fewer than 20% of the caretakers, one would see more differences in attributes of prosocial children at these two ages (see Tables 1 and 2). Thus, the core attributes are quite similar for each age, but among less core attributes, developmental differences appear.

Although most of the attributes are listed for both 2-year-olds and 5-year-olds, the rank of those attributes are different. However, the only sizeable difference in ranking is that of "helping," which is the most frequently named attribute for 5-year-olds, but which comes just before the 19% cutoff for 2-year-olds.

One difference between the two age groups that is important to note is that even though the same attribute is used, the specific behaviors through which that attribute is manifest may be different for each age. For example, when caretakers of 5-year-olds described a child as "cooperative," they mentioned that the child would let other children have the best roles in pretend play or was able to negotiate and compromise in play. These behaviors were not mentioned for cooperative 2-year-olds, but being able to take turns was.

Another example is that "helpful" 2-year-olds were described as aiding the adults around them, whereas helpful 5-year-olds were described as aiding both children and adults. The 5-year-olds helped siblings do things they couldn't do for themselves, taught other children games, pushed other children on swings, etc. This kind of peer-helping was not used to describe 2-year-olds.

Finally, a third example of different behavioral manifestations of the same attribute is that 2-year-olds who were caretaking of younger children were described as "gentle" or "wanting to hug and pat babies," or caretaking toward dolls. The 5-year-olds were described in terms that

indicated more real helpfulness to the younger children: feeding babies, playing with a fussy baby until it was soothed, singing siblings to sleep, including younger children in games. Caretaking behavior in doll play was not mentioned for 5-year-olds.

The different behavioral manifestations of these three attributes may be the result of increased social exposure or skills in the 5-year-olds. While this difference is not surprising, it is important to note because any assessment of children's prosocial behavior must use somewhat different behavioral indices when addressing the same attribute in children of different ages.

Conclusions

This study has produced a rich description of the core attributes of prosocial preschoolers. These lists create a picture of the prototype, or theoretical ideal. Some children will come closer to the ideal and have more defining characteristics than other children. In this study no one child was characterized by all the attributes. For example, two prosocial 5-year-olds were characterized as "shy and quiet," while many others were characterized as friendly and outgoing. These two children, however, were characterized by several other critical prosocial attributes.

The information presented in this study goes beyond a simple list: the results of the cluster analysis show us what behaviors might go together, and the frequencies given in Tables 1 and 2 indicate which behaviors may be more critical than others for each age group.

How do these findings relate to the existing literature on prosocial behavior? Some of the attributes mentioned frequently by caretakers have been assessed in the literature. Specifically,

comforting distressed others, sharing, helpfulness, and caretaking of dolls have been used as indices of prosocial behavior in preschoolers. The present study indicates that these are appropriate behaviors to research in preschoolers. However, other attributes that were mentioned frequently by caretakers as a central part of being prosocial have not been commonly addressed by previous research -- happiness, affection, and friendliness and outgoing behavior.

The fourth and seventh most frequently nominated behavior for 2- and 5-year-olds, respectively, was general happiness. Yet, the relationship between display of happiness and other prosocial behaviors has not been investigated in the literature on prosocial development. However, related research suggests that there may be a significant relationship. Waters, Wippman, & Sroufe (1979) found that the display of positive affect at age 15 months (directed toward the mother as a measure of attachment) was related to interpersonal competence with peers at nursery school at 3 1/2 years of age. Baumrind (1967) found that happier children were more peer affiliated -- displaying sociability, fairness, and cooperation, among other positive behaviors. The present study indicates that persisting affective states are worth investigating in the development of prosocial behavior.

Hay and Rheingold (1983) argue that although friendliness and affection are not typically included in the definition of prosocial behavior, they should be regarded as providing the basis for other prosocial behaviors.

"The infants' friendliness can be viewed as the scaffold on which all later prosocial behaviors are built. Without a generally positive, outgoing disposition towards others, children would not likely share, help, or cooperate." (p. 75)

Hay and Rheingold (1983), after extensive research experience,

list five behaviors that, in their opinion, were exhibited by children under three:

- 1) Comforting persons in distress
- 2) Sharing objects and experiences (usually with mother)
- 3) Cooperating and complying with requests (including playing structured games)
- 4) Giving care (putting dolls to bed, etc.)
- 5) Helping adults complete their work

They then set about to verify the existence of these behaviors and, in some cases, their frequency, in experimental and field settings. The results of Hay and Rheingold's studies and our study are mutually supportive. Their categories coincide with attributes of our 2-year-olds that were ranked in order of frequency as first, third, seventh, eighth and tenth. However, our study includes additional behaviors not discussed by Hay and Rheingold, and also investigates behaviors of 5-year-olds.

The results of this study are useful in four ways. They provide researchers with (1) a list of criteria by which the primary caretakers of young children judge children, (2) a set of characteristics of young children that theories of prosocial development must account for, (3) a list of critical and variable attributes for defining "prosocial behavior" in preschoolers, and (4) a pool of potential items for assessing prosocial behavior in research settings.

One implication of this study for future research on prosocial behavior is that prosocial behavior should not be operationalized into a single dimension. No one attribute is a complete representation of prosocial behavior by itself; it is best to assess prosocial behavior by using a collection of attributes. In this study no child nominated had all the pertinent prosocial attributes and no single attribute was mentioned by all caretakers. Composite measures have the advantage of

stronger correlation from occasion to occasion than single-attribute measures, and they are more likely to provide valid, reliable data.

Another implication of this study for future research is that attention should be given to which behaviors are most central to being prosocial at different ages. This study indicated that there are two differences between prototypically prosocial 2- and 5-year-olds: (1) the centrality of each attribute to the construct of prosocial behavior varies, and (2) the same attribute, such as cooperation, may be manifest by different behaviors. Thus, two children at different ages who are similarly prosocial may have somewhat different behavioral repertoires.

Finally, this study shows that very young children have substantial repertoires of prosocial behaviors. Thus, any theoretical discussion of prosocial development must include prosocial behavior in the very young child. More research attention should be directed to these early years when prosocial behaviors are first being acquired and the foundation for later development is begun.

Footnote

1. When interpreting cluster analysis, the researcher must decide on the number of clusters. In this study the number of clusters was determined using two methods: (1) Half or more of the raters placed the items together in a cluster, (2) Finding the average number of clusters the raters perceived in the data. Both rules resulted in the same number of clusters.

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Appendix

Table A

Attributes of Prosocial 2-Year-Olds
Defined by Phrases Used by Caretakers

1. COMFORTS OTHERS WHO ARE HURT OR SAD (hugs, pats, kisses or brings toys to cheer up crying children, comforts mother when she is sad)
2. SHARES (shares, exchanges, or trades toys)
3. AFFECTIONATE (hugs and pats others, likes to be hugged and kissed, says "I Love you", loves to give kisses)
4. HAPPY (smiles and laughs a lot, happy most of the time, expresses happy feelings, cheerful disposition, smiles readily)
5. OUTGOING AND FRIENDLY (readily makes friends of strangers, waves and smiles at anyone, is the first to say "Hi!", greets others enthusiastically, involves other children in her play)
6. SOCIABLE (enjoys being around others, gravitates toward other children, is happiest when he has lots of social interaction)
7. SENSITIVE AND PERCEPTIVE OF OTHERS (concerned for others, perceptive of others' feelings, anticipates mother's needs in doing chores, can sense what others need or want)
8. COOPERATIVE (very cooperative in play, willing participant in group activities, will oblige others by laughing over and over at the same thing, gracefully takes turns)
9. CARETAKING OF YOUNGER CHILDREN (caretaking and interested in infants, gentle and loving toward babies, protective of smaller children, "mothers" her dolls, pats and hugs infants)
10. HELPFUL (likes to help clean up, "helps" mother with her work, always willing to help adults)
11. WANTS OTHERS TO BE HAPPY (loves to make younger children smile, delights in seeing others happy and peaceful, likes to make others laugh, wants everyone to be happy and loving)
12. EMPATHIC (comments sadly when hears a baby cry, shows concern when anyone is hurt or crying, gets upset when seeing anyone on TV get sad)
13. EASY GOING (cool, mild, easy going, not easily provoked, easy to get along with, calm, seldom throws fits)
14. VERBAL (verbally expressive, chatters busily, extensive vocabulary)
15. NOT AGGRESSIVE (seldom reacts to aggression with more aggression, never grabs toys, never strikes others)

Table A, continued

16. AMIALE IN PLAY (plays well with other children, creates happy atmosphere in play with others, nice to other children, fits into any group, positive in interactions with peers)
17. OBEDIENT (cooperates with demands cheerfully, compliant, says "sure" or "OK", accepts correction without frustration)
18. APOLOGIZES (says "sorry" whenever naughty, tries to make up after misbehavior, apologizes for misbehavior to other children)
19. STRONG WILLED AND INDEPENDENT
20. AWARE OF OTHERS (shows interest in what others are doing, aware of other children, knows the names of all the neighbor children and adults, watches and imitates other children)

Table B

Attributes of Prosocial 5-Year-Olds
Defined by Phrases Used by Caretakers

1. HELPFUL (helps with parents' chores, pushes other children on swings, helps younger sibling with things she can't do by herself, teaches other children games, does more than her share of cleaning)
2. FRIENDLY AND OUTGOING (initiates play or conversation with others, quick to find new friends when introduced to a new group, initiates group games and invites others to join in)
3. COMFORTING TO OTHERS WHO ARE SAD, HURT, SICK OR FRUSTRATED (hugs others who are upset, consoles a crying friend, tries to cheer up a child who is sad, comforts mother when sad, solicitous of sick people)
4. AFFECTIONATE (spontaneously gives hugs and kisses, rarely misses an opportunity to say "I Love You", loves to hug and cuddle)
5. SHARES (shares toys willingly, shares food with friends)
6. COOPERATIVE (can fit into most situations amiably, good sport, lets other kids have the best roles in pretend play, not domineering, accepts others' ideas in play, compromises in play)
7. HAPPY (smiles a lot, usually happy, cheerful, laughs easily)
8. SENSITIVE (more aware of others' feelings than most her age, attuned to the emotions of those around her, innate feel for the right thing to say or do, concerned for others' feelings)
9. CARETAKING OF YOUNGER CHILDREN (likes to hold and talk to babies, sings siblings to sleep, feeds & brings toys to baby, gentle with infants, watches out for younger sibling's interests)
10. SOCIABLE (does not tire of people, loves to be with people, makes sure she is part of the group, enjoys visiting his friends)
11. SELF-CONFIDENT (self-assured, good self-esteem, proud of self, likes herself, not threatened when others are better at something)
12. COMPLIMENTS OTHERS (constantly makes positive comments about other children's work, likes to applaud others' accomplishments, praises others, supportive and encouraging of others)
13. NOT EXCLUSIVE IN FRIENDSHIPS (nonexclusive with playmates, welcomes newcomers, can involve old friends with new friends easily)
14. ATTENTIVE (follows directions well, listens carefully without much interrupting)
15. GIVES GIFTS TO OTHERS (gives flowers and drawings to Mom, teachers, friends, siblings, gives presents to visiting friends)

Table B, continued

16. STUBBORN (determined, independent, strong willed, likes to have control over a situation, stubborn)
17. NOT AGGRESSIVE (never takes things away from other children, doesn't hit other children, rarely gets in physical confrontations)
18. "GIVES IN" TO AVOID FIGHTS (surrenders without a fuss rather than fight, gives in in order to end a disagreement, often a peacemaker)
19. SETTLES DISAGREEMENT AMONG PLAYMATES (proposes a compromise and acts as mediator when others disagree, negotiator, arbitrator)
20. ACTIVE AND ENERGETIC
21. POLITE (courteous, apologizes if accidentally hurts another, says "thank you", writes thank you notes)
22. AVOIDS HURTING OTHERS' FEELINGS (does not tease, name call, or make fun of others, particular about not hurting feelings)
23. SENSE OF FAIRNESS (compliments everyone equally, fair in dealing with all people, careful about sharing equally)
24. LEADER, BUT WITHOUT FORCE (may become leader, but doesn't impose his ideas in a forceful way, has leadership skills but doesn't demand to be leader)